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Here now I should like to say a few words about the laws of inheritance among the Isneg. In general it should be said that children inherit directly from their father and mother, no distinction being made between sons and daughters, except of course that the former will mostly inherit from their father and the latter from their mother, at least as far as ordinary personal belongings go: headaxes would be of little value or rather useless to girls, and women's garments would be scorned by the boys. In practice, however, the whole procedure is a little more complicated.

Let us first consider a monogamous couple who were never divorced. Several of the alternatives may present themselves:

1. All the children have married before the death of either of the parents. In this case each of the children, whether a boy or a girl, has already received his or her share at the time of his or her marriage; and after the marriage of the last child, the parents who had nothing left, went to live with one of their offspring or stayed at home, where one or more of their children remained after their marriage, or whither one or more of them returned later on. Common property, that is property that has been acquired conjointly by father and mother during their married life, is comparatively rare among the Isneg, as most everything is obtained either by inheritance or through each one's own exertions, so that there is usually little question of property owned in common by husband and wife. The *tádug*, however, or price received for a daughter at her marriage, forms an exception to this rule. This *tádug*, and other similar common property, if there should be any, always goes to increase the inheritance of each child who still remains unmarried; and should the last child be a girl, the *tádug* received for her will go to the relatives of the mother, after the latter's demise. Consequently it must be a rather strange contingency among the Isneg for a part of the *tádug* finally to come back to the descendants of those who paid for it.

2. The mother dies before all the children are married. In this case the unmarried children inherit their mother's property, while both that of their father and that which was held in common by both parents, as *tádug* and so on, remain in the hands of the surviving parent for the time being. Should the latter remarry and have children from this second marriage, these, at his death, will be placed on the same line with the children of the first marriage, with reference to everything that remained in their father's hands at the time of the death of his first wife, except of course the *tádug* which the

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428 widower has been obliged to pay for his second wife, and other possessions that may have been disposed of before his death. Children who married in the meanwhile will have lost all rights of course, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage.

3. The father dies before all children are married. In this case the mother's property remains intact in her own hands, but all the rest is divided among the unmarried children. Should there still be any small children in the family, their share will be larger than that of the others, because they are not yet able to support themselves. The person who takes care of the little ones after the death of both their parents, is called *pakĉbāy:* this kind of tutor may be an elder brother, an uncle, or any other of their kindred. Should all children be orphaned in childhood, one of their uncles will usually play the rôle of tutor or *pakĉbāy:* he also will look after the division of their inheritance. The mother generally stays or goes to live with one of her oldest children; in case all of them are still small, she either continues to provide for them, or tries her luck with another husband. In no case, however, is she left destitute. Although everything, except her own personal property, has been divided among the children, this does not mean that they will fail to support their mother or that the latter will be forbidden to live at their expense, the more so that both grown-up children and little tots have nothing to lose by keeping their mother with them, even though all other motives but selfish ones be left aside and only the question of material welfare be considered: indeed in the Isneg family the mother is the real provider. An old woman always has a place at the hearth of one of her married children or grandchildren; why then should a mother not prove acceptable if she is still comparatively young and able to earn her livelihood? And this will mostly be the case if some of the children are still unmarried. Actually the eldest son pays the land taxes after the death of his father.

428 595 In case the father lives or lived in bigamy and never obtained a divorce, there is little to be changed in the above description. Only two points are of special importance. First, no children can inherit personal property from any of the women except from their own mother. Second, if the father dies, his own personal property and all belongings held in common by himself and his wives, is divided into as many equal parts as there are or were mothers of unmarried children in the house. And so, supposing a bigamist leaves at his death two unmarried children from one wife and four from the other

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, 595
and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities: 428

1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely 586
theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, 425
only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so 586
on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been pre- 684
viously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, 428
the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos,* some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito.* Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito.* Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos,* and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each